

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4745
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA
NATO CAPITALS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 NATO 06599

BELGRADE FOR CSCE DEL

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, NATO
SUBJECT: FRENCH THREATEN FURTHER NATO WORK ON CSCE
PREPARATIONS

REFS: (A)NATO 5979, (B)STATE 144666, (C)STATE144602
1. SUMMARY: AT JULY 7 POLADS MEETING, THE FRENCH REP
OBJECTED TO PREPARATION OF ANY FURTHER NATO PAPERS ON CSCE,
WITH THE ONLY EXCEPTION OF CBMS PAPER NOW IN PREPARATION,
SINCE THIS DEALT WITH SECURITY, WHICH IN FRENCH VIEW IS A
LEGITIMATE NATO CONCERN. INITIAL ALLIED COMMENTS INDICATED
DISINCLINATION TO CHALLENGE THE FRENCH ON THIS ISSUE, BUT
WE BELIEVE THAT THE US SHOULD TAKE A FIRM POSITION IN FAVOR
OF CONTINUING PREPARATION OF COMMON ALLIANCE PAPERS ON
CSCE.
ACTION REQUESTED: WE WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE FOR USE
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JULY 12. END SUMMARY

2. BELGIAN REP, SPEAKING IN EC PRESIDENT'S ROLE, OPENED
JULY 7 POLADS DISCUSSION ON CSCE THEMES BY NOTING THAT
SINCE THE NINE'S PAPER ON THIS SUBJECT HAD BEEN AGREED
THROUGH LENGTHY CONSULTATIVE PROCESS, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT
TO REACH AGREEMENT ON EXTENSIVE REVISION, WITHIN A REASON-

ABLE TIME. (COMMENT: BELGIAN REP'S INTERVENTION WAS APPARENTLY PROMPTED BY US SUGGESTIONS FOR REVISING THE THEMES PAPER (REFS B&C), AND WE SUGGEST BELOW A POSSIBLE METHOD FOR HANDLING THE POINT RAISED BY THE BELGIANS. END COMMENT)

3. FRENCH REP, READING FROM INSTRUCTIONS, SAID THAT IN PARIS'S VIEW, IT WAS INAPPROPRIATE FOR THE FIFTEEN TO DRAFT JOINT PAPERS ON CSCE THEMES AND NEW PROPOSALS. SUCH AN EFFORT WOULD, THE FRENCH BELIEVE, GIVE THE BELGRADE MEETINGS A RIGID BLOC-TO-BLOC CHARACTER. ACCORDINGLY, THEY FAVOR A "DIVERSIFIED APPROACH". THE ONLY EXCEPTION RELATED TO CBMS, WHICH THE FRENCH REP SAID WERE A LEGITIMATE CONCERN OF THE ALLIES SINCE THEY RELATE TO THE BASIC NATO PURPOSE OF SECURITY. THE FRENCH REP CONCLUDED THAT HER AUTHORITIES, HOWEVER, LOOKED FORWARD TO "CONTINUING EXCHANGES OF VIEWS AMONG THE ALLIES ON BELGRADE PREPARATIONS."

4. THE FRENCH STATEMENT PRODUCED SURPRISE AND DISAPPOINTMENT AMONG ALLIED REPS. UK POLAD EXPRESSED HOPE THAT ALLIE COULD AGREE ON FUNDAMENTAL POINTS AND OVERALL OBJECTIVES EVEN WITHIN A "DIVERSIFIED APPROACH". THE ITALIAN REP COMMENTED THAT THE FRENCH STATEMENT REPRESENTED A STEP BACKWARD FROM THE POSITION THE FRENCH HAD TAKEN PRIOR TO THE LONDON SUMMIT AND DURING OTHER ALLIED DISCUSSIONS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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5. THE US REP REGRETTED THE FRENCH POSITION AND SAID THAT IT COULD HAMPER THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONSISTENT ALLIED POSITIONS FOR BELGRADE. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF SEEKING A FORMULA WHICH WOULD PRESERVE OVERALL ALLIED COHESION AND PROVIDE DELEGATIONS AT BELGRADE WITH THE DOCUMENTATION THEY WOULD NEED. OTHER ALLIES SHOWED DISINCLINATION TO CHALLENGE THE FRENCH HEAD ON. SEVERAL SAW MERIT IN A CHAIRMAN'S REPORT WHICH WOULD SET OUT BASIC ALLIED OBJECTIVES AT BELGRADE. AS SUGGESTED BY THE UK REP, AN OVERALL STATEMENT IN A CHAIRMAN'S REPORT COULD HAVE ANNEXES WHICH MIGHT INCLUDE A) THE NINE'S PAPER ON THEMES, B) A PAPER ON NEW PROPOSALS, C) THE APPRAISAL STATEMENTS PROMISED BY THE US, D) THE CBMS PAPER AND E) PAPER ON RESPONDING TO EASTERN CRITICISM. THE DUTCH REP THOUGHT THAT THE NINE'S PAPER ON THEMES WAS ALREADY IN A SUITABLE FORM FOR USE AT BELGRADE, BUT ADDED THAT CONSIDERABLE FURTHER WORK WAS NEEDED ON NEW PROPOSALS.

6. IN RESPONSE TO THE SUGGESTION OF A CHAIRMAN'S REPORT, THE FRENCH REP SAID SHE WOULD REPORT THIS IDEA TO HER AUTHORITIES. US REP RESERVED HIS POSITION ON A POSSIBLE

CHAIRMAN'S REPORT.

7. FINALLY, CANADIAN REP CIRCULATED A PAPER ON HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH, HE THOUGHT, MIGHT SERVE AS A USEFUL MODEL FOR SIMILAR PAPERS ON OTHER KEY CSCE TOPICS. WE ARE TRANSMITTING CANADIAN TEXT BY SEPTTEL.

8. COMMENT: WHILE THE FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR DEALING WITH

CSCE IN NATO IS COMPREHENSIBLE IN THE CONTEXT OF FRANCE'S APPROACH TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS, INCLUDING AS RECENTLY MANIFESTED AT BELGRADE, IT PRESENTS THE ALLIANCE WITH A

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CHALLENGE THAT WILL NEED CAREFUL HANDLING TO AVOID DAMAGING IMPORTANT PRECEDENTS FOR MANAGING EAST-WEST RELATIONS ON AN ALLIANCE-WIDE BASIS.

9. THE NEW FRENCH POSITION REPRESENTS A STEP BACKWARD FROM THE FORMER COOPERATIVE STANCE SHOWN TO DATE ON CSCE. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE RECALL THAT, WHILE MORE RELUCTANT THAN OTHER ALLIES TO SEE NATO SERVE AS THE VENUE FOR WORKING OUT THE ALLIED APPROACH TO CSCE, NONE-THELESS THE FRENCH HAD NOT OBJECTED TO DEVELOPING HARMONIZED POSITIONS, OFTEN BASED UPON PRELIMINARY WORK BY THE NINE. FOR THE FRENCH NOW TO SUGGEST THAT NATO, IN EFFECT, BE ABANDONED AS A FORUM FOR MEANINGFUL CSCE WORK COULD HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR OTHER ALLIED EAST-WEST ACTIVITIES. SPECIFICALLY WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT EVOLVING FRENCH

ATTITUDES THAT COULD LEAD TO VITIATION OF ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY PROPOSED AT THE MAY SUMMIT, THOUGH COMMENTS BY FRENCH DELEGATION REPRESENTATIVES AS YET GIVE US NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE FRENCH HAVE YET DECIDED TO APPLY TO THAT STUDY THE APPROACH THEY NOW PROPOSE FOR CSCE. HOWEVER, IN THIS CONNECTION THE FRENCH DELEGATION HAS

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CONTINUED TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF PARTS I AND II OF THE EAST-WEST STUDY AND CONSISTENTLY HAS EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT DEVELOPING A COMMON POSITION ON THE IMPLICATIONS PART OF THE STUDY.

10. IN ANY CASE, IN DEALING WITH THE CURRENT FRENCH POSTURE TOWARD CSCE EFFORTS IN NATO WE BELIEVE THE US SHOULD NOT ACQUIESCE WITHOUT A FULL DISCUSSION OF THIS MATTER IN THE ALLIANCE. ESPECIALLY, WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT, AT THE JULY 12 POLAD MEETING, AND PERHAPS AT THE JULY 12 PERMREP LUNCH AS WELL, WE BE AUTHORIZED TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS: A) WE ARE SOMEWHAT PUZZLED BY THE CURRENT FRENCH APPROACH TO DEVELOPING A HARMONIZED APPROACH IN NATO ON CSCE MATTERS IN VIEW OF THE LONG HISTORY OF CLOSE ALLIANCE CSCE CONSULTATIONS THAT BORE FRUIT IN THE ADOPTION OF A FINAL ACT SATISFACTORY TO THE ALLIES AT HELSINKI AND MORE RECENTLY, IN THE AGREEMENT ON AN EXCELLENT REPORT TO THE MINISTERS ON PREPARING FOR BELGRADE. B) THE FRENCH HAVE SAID THEY WOULD PREFER NOT TO HARMONIZE VIEWS IN NATO, EXCEPT ON CBMS. THIS, IN OUR VIEW, WOULD REPRESENT A STEP BACKWARD IN THE APPROACH BY ALLIES TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS, PURSUED SINCE THE ADOPTION OF THE HARMEL REPORT IN 1967, WHICH STATES IN CONNECTION WITH RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE THAT "THE CHANCE OF SUCCESS WILL CLEARLY BE GREATER IF THE ALLIES REMAIN ON PARALLEL COURSES..." MOREOVER, PARAGRAPH 11 OF THE OTTAWA DECLARATION UNDERLINES THE IMPORTANCE TO ALLIES OF KEEPING EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND OF STRENGTHENING THE PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATION. THE US, FOR ITS PART, HAS APPROACHED ITS POLICIES IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE FULLEST CONSULTATION WITH ITS ALLIES. FOR THIS REASON, WE WOULD BE DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED

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IF IT WERE NOT POSSIBLE TO CONTINUE THE PRACTICE OF INTENSIVE AND FRANK DISCUSSIONS IN NATO, SO AS TO ACHIEVE AS HARMONIOUS AN APPROACH AS POSSIBLE IN SUCH IMPORTANT

AREAS AS CSCE. C) THE IMPORTANCE OF A COHESIVE ALLIED POSITION AT BELGRADE IS UNDERLINED BY THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS AND THEIR FRIENDS ALREADY ARE ATTEMPTING TO DIVIDE THE ALLIES. IN ORDER TO AVOID DISUNITY AND TO PRESS ALLIED POSITIONS EFFECTIVELY, IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR THE ALLIES TO CONSULT CLOSELY BOTH AT NATO AND AT BELGRADE, WITH THE LATTER BECOMING INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT IN THE SUBSEQUENT PHASE OF DISCUSSIONS, AS WAS THE CASE IN GENEVA. SIMPLE "EXCHANGES OF VIEWS" WILL NOT DO THE JOB. D) THUS, WE WOULD URGE THAT THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION AND AGREE TO CONTINUE AS IN THE PAST.

11. WE DO NOT EXPECT THAT THE FRENCH POSITION WILL SHIFT IN THE FACE OF THE APPROACH PROPOSED ABOVE. HOWEVER, SUCH A STATEMENT WILL MAKE THE US POSITION CLEAR FOR THE RECORD AND OPEN THE WAY FOR PRACTICAL NEXT STEPS TO DEAL WITH THE FRENCH POSITION. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD PROPOSE THAT, IF THE FRENCH PERSIST IN THEIR OBJECTIONS, THEY TAKE A FOOTNOTE IN FUTURE CSCE PAPERS PREPARED IN NATO, IN THE FORM OF A DISCLAIMER SIMILAR TO THAT THE FRENCH ALREADY HAVE USED IN SO MANY ALLIANCE MATTERS.

12. IN THE EVENT THE FRENCH RESIST A DISCLAIMER, A FALLBACK WOULD BE TO AGREE TO THE PROPOSAL ALREADY ON THE TABLE THAT FUTURE NATO CSCE WORK TAKE THE FORM OF CHAIRMAN'S REPORTS. SUCH REPORTS, OF COURSE, ARE THE LEAST BINDING KIND OF NATO DOCUMENTS, BUT COULD PROVE AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE TO ALLOW SERIOUS WORK TO PROCEED DESPITE FRANCE. WE BELIEVE

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THE US SHOULD BE RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT THE FORMAT OF A CHAIRMAN'S REPORT, HOWEVER, BECAUSE IT WOULD SET PRECEDENTS FOR FURTHER WATERING-DOWN OF THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS BY THE FRENCH AND OTHERS THAT MIGHT BELIEVE THEY COULD ESCAPE MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS BY RECOURSE TO THIS PROCEDURAL DODGE. THUS, IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROPOSALS BOTH FOR A DISCLAIMER AND A CHAIRMAN'S REPORT, WE BELIEVE THE US SHOULD NOT AGREE TO EITHER IMMEDIATELY, BUT SHOULD ALLOW THE FRENCH TO REFLECT UPON AN INITIALLY RESERVED US POSITION BEFORE ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS ARE ADVANCED. MOREOVER, TO UNDERLINE US SUPPORT FOR FULLY EFFECTIVE CONSULTATIONS IN NATO, IT WOULD BE BETTER TO FLOAT THE PROPOSALS FOR A DISCLAIMER OR A CHAIRMAN'S REPORT THROUGH OTHER ALLIES, RATHER THAN ADVANCING THEM OURSELVES.

13. WITH REGARD TO THE NINE'S REQUEST THAT THE FIFTEEN REFRAIN FROM TRYING TO REVISE DRASTICALLY THE THEMES PAPER, WE SEE SOME MERIT IN THE IDEA OF A GENERAL PAPER WHICH SETS OUT OVERALL ALLIED OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY FOR BELGRADE. SUCH AN OVERALL STATEMENT SHOULD, IN OUR VIEW, DRAW ON THE DEPARTMENT'S PROPOSED RE-DRAFT OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NINE THEMES PAPER (REF C) AS WELL AS
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APPROPRIATE SECTIONS OF CM 77 (29). PAPERS ON THEMES, NEW PROPOSALS, CBMS AND RESPONDING TO EASTERN CRITICISM COULD BE ATTACHED TO THE OVERALL PAPER. WE FURTHER BELIEVE THAT US APPRAISAL STATEMENTS, AS WELL AS SUCH PAPERS AS THE CANADIAN PAPER ON HUMAN RIGHTS, COULD BE ANNEXED TO THE THEMES PAPER.

14. WHILE THE ABOVE APPROACH IS LESS SATISFACTORY THAN AN OVERALL REVISION OF THE THEMES PAPER, AS PROPOSED IN REF B, WE BELIEVE THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT SUBJECT TO BE ADDRESSED PROMPTLY IS THE FRENCH OBJECTION TO FURTHER WORK ON COMMON NATO PAPERS. OUR POSITION WOULD BE TACTICALLY STRONGER IF WE PUSH FOR AN OVERALL OBJECTIVES PAPER TO WHICH OTHER EXISTING PAPERS SUITABLY REVISED COULD BE ATTACHED. END COMMENT

15. ACTION REQUESTED: WE BELIEVE IT EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THE ALLIES ON THE FRENCH CHALLENGE AND IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE GUIDANCE BY JULY 11 IF POSSIBLE. AT THIS STAGE, DEPARTMENT COMMENTS ON THE FORMAT OF CSCE PAPERS, WHILE HELPFUL, WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY BY JULY 12. WHAT IS NEEDED, WE BELIEVE, IS A CLEAR US STATEMENT ON THE BASIC ISSUE. STREATOR

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